

Chapter 1 : Gladstone and Ireland

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He was close to his sister, and on affectionate but more distant terms with his surviving brothers. Turner stood as godfather when Benjamin was baptised, aged twelve, on 31 July Britain in the early nineteenth century was not a greatly anti-Semitic society, and there had been Members of Parliament MPs from Jewish families since Samson Gideon in But until , MPs were required to take the oath of allegiance "on the true faith of a Christian", necessitating at least nominal conversion. He began there in the autumn term of ; [16] he later recalled his education: I was at school for two or three years under the Revd. Too much so; in the pride of boyish erudition, I edited the Idonisian Eclogue of Theocritus, wh. This was my first production: The firm had a large and profitable business, and as the biographer R W Davis observes, the clerkship was "the kind of secure, respectable position that many fathers dream of for their children". It would be a mistake to suppose that the two years and more that I was in the office of our friend [Maples] were wasted. His reasons for doing so are unknown, but the biographer Bernard Glassman surmises that it was to avoid being confused with his father. He later wrote that it was while travelling on the Rhine that he decided to abandon his position: Spain was losing its South American colonies in the face of South American rebellions and revolutions. At the urging of George Canning , the British government recognised the new independent governments of Argentina , Colombia and Mexico both With no money of his own, Disraeli borrowed money to invest. He became involved with the financier John Diston Powles , who was prominent among those encouraging the mining boom. In the course of , Powles asked Disraeli to write three anonymous pamphlets promoting the companies, [38] which John Murray, another heavy investor in the boom, then published. Lockhart Murray had had ambitions to establish a new morning paper to compete with The Times. The new paper, The Representative , promoted the mines and the politicians who supported them, particularly Canning. Although Disraeli impressed Murray with his energy and commitment to the project, he failed in his key task of persuading the eminent writer John Gibson Lockhart to edit the paper. The journey encouraged his self-consciousness, his moral relativism, and his interest in Eastern racial and religious attitudes. They conditioned his attitude toward some of the most important political problems which faced him in his later years—especially the Eastern Question; they also coloured many of his novels. Contarini Fleming was avowedly a self-portrait. Disraeli remarked, "it is quite impossible that anything adverse to the general measure of Reform can issue from my pen. The Whigs derived from the coalition of Lords who had forced through the Bill of Rights in , and in some cases were their actual descendants, not merely spiritual. The Tories tended to support King and Church, and sought to thwart political change. A small number of Radicals, generally from northern constituencies, were the strongest advocates of continuing reform. The other great party, the Whigs, were anathema to Disraeli: He began to move in Tory circles. She was having an affair with Lyndhurst, and began another with Disraeli. Lyndhurst was an indiscreet gossip with a fondness for intrigue; this appealed greatly to Disraeli, who became his secretary and go-between. Disraeli stood as a Radical for the last time in , unsuccessfully contesting High Wycombe once again. He possesses all the necessary requisites of perfidy, selfishness, depravity, want of principle, etc. I do not use it as a term of reproach; there are many most respectable Jews. But there are, as in every other people, some of the lowest and most disgusting grade of moral turpitude; and of those I look upon Mr. Disraeli as the worst. He has just the qualities of the impenitent thief on the Cross, and I verily believe, if Mr. Disraeli now, and as the lineal descendant of the blasphemous robber, who ended his career beside the Founder of the Christian Faith, I leave the gentleman to the enjoyment of his infamous distinction and family honours. His Vindication of the English Constitution, was published in December His targets included the Whigs, collectively and individually, Irish nationalists, and political corruption. The English nation, therefore, rallies for rescue from the degrading plots of a profligate oligarchy, a barbarizing sectarianism, and a boroughmongering Papacy, round their hereditary leaders—the Peers. The House of Lords, therefore, at this

moment represents everything in the realm except the Whig oligarchs, their tools the Dissenters, and their masters the Irish priests. In the mean time, the Whigs bawl that there is a "collision! Back-bencher[edit] In the election in July , Disraeli won a seat in the House of Commons as one of two members, both Tory, for the constituency of Maidstone. He had broken off the relationship in late , distraught that she had taken yet another lover. He was a loyal supporter of the party leader Sir Robert Peel and his policies, with the exception of a personal sympathy for the Chartist movement that most Tories did not share. His motives were generally assumed to be mercenary, but the couple came to cherish one another, remaining close until she died more than three decades later. They held that the landed interests should use their power to protect the poor from exploitation by middle-class businessmen. Before the Reform Act , the working class did not possess the vote and therefore had little political power. Although Disraeli forged a personal friendship with John Bright , a Lancashire manufacturer and leading Radical, Disraeli was unable to persuade Bright to sacrifice his distinct position for parliamentary advancement. When Disraeli attempted to secure a Tory-Radical cabinet in , Bright refused. The best-known of these stances were over the Maynooth Grant in and the repeal of the Corn Laws in . However, the young MP had attacked his leader as early as on Ireland and then on foreign policy interventions. In a letter of February , he slighted the Prime Minister for failing to send him a Policy Circular. Peel hoped that the repeal of the Corn Laws and the resultant influx of cheaper wheat into Britain would relieve the condition of the poor, and in particular the suffering caused by successive failure of potato crops in Ireland—the Great Famine. Disraeli stated, in a letter to Sir William Miles of 11 June , that he wished to help "because, from my earliest years, my sympathies had been with the landed interest of England". However, he would take office with a group of men who possessed little or no official experience, who had rarely felt moved to speak in the House of Commons, and who, as a group, remained hostile to Disraeli on a personal level. In the general election , Disraeli stood, successfully, for the Buckinghamshire constituency. As a practising Jew he could not take the oath of allegiance in the prescribed Christian form, and therefore could not take his seat. Lord John Russell, the Whig leader who had succeeded Peel as Prime Minister and like Rothschild was a member for the City of London, proposed in the Commons that the oath should be amended to permit Jews to enter Parliament. The Tories and the Anglican establishment were hostile to the bill. One who was not yet an MP, Lord John Manners , stood against Rothschild when the latter re-submitted himself for election in . The measure was voted down. Possession of a country house, and incumbency of a county constituency, were regarded as essential for a Tory with ambitions to lead the party. Disraeli and his wife alternated between Hughenden and several homes in London for the rest of their marriage. At the start of the next session, affairs were handled by a triumvirate of Granby, Disraeli, and John Charles Herries —indicative of the tension between Disraeli and the rest of the party, who needed his talents but mistrusted him.

Chapter 2 : Benjamin Disraeli - Wikipedia

*Gladstone and radicalism: The reconstruction of liberal policy in Britain, [Michael K Barker] on calendrierdelascience.com *FREE* shipping on qualifying offers.*

However this evaluation does not sit well with the insights offered by other available evidence, particularly that presented by his library. The movement soon took hold in Britain and peaked in the 1840s and 1850s. Victorian spiritualist belief centred on the possibility of contact between the living and the dead; beyond this it is impossible to cite a single creed embraced by its followers. His involvement was not unusual, as Colin Matthew has shown: Involvement with spiritualism in the 1840s was common enough in the professional classes and the aristocracy. However his theory of secularization and diametrical opposition of Christian belief and spiritualism are questionable. Many spiritualists shared Christian concerns over apparent threats from science and materialist philosophy; before 1840, the desire to discredit scientific materialism was a primary motivation for many British spiritualists. Run by respected academics and intellectuals, it had a largely congruent membership. Spiritualists and psychical researchers were not always identical. The SPR adopted a rigorous approach to the study of phenomena, publishing their results in an academic journal. Founder members like Henry Sidgwick and Frederick Myers were committed to achieving certainty through their experiments in order to secure tangible proof of immortality. Some spiritualists interpreted such activities as hostile to their own. He was friendly with the Sidgwicks but his correspondence with Henry did not mention psychical research. The first two volumes, which predate membership, are the only ones so treated. In all likelihood these were given to Gladstone by the SPR, either as an encouragement to join or for information, explaining why they were read more carefully than subsequent editions. Many of his contemporaries denounced such things out of hand: In 1841 he wrote to J. Markley, who had sent a work on spiritualism, saying: However there is evidence that Gladstone was associating with society spiritualists before this date. In 1842 he visited Sir Charles Isham and recorded: Most curious are the little low benches and stumps placed under his trees [Gladstone participated by writing two questions, 28 and recorded the experience in his diary: Dined at Mrs Hartmanns. Mr Elkington [sic] came in evg. For the first time I was present at his operations of spiritism: I took down the particulars. But Eglinton was regarded by some as a charlatan. And on a locked slate: It was potentially a terrific boost to his career and to the spiritualist cause to claim that the Prime Minister, who was popularly known as a great advocate of truth, had been convinced. Gladstone, engulfed in crisis over the reintroduction of the Franchise Bill, greeted the further press coverage with annoyance. He wrote to Emma Hartmann: I am sorry to find an article in the Morning Post of today. The facts are I think pretty accurately stated, not so the conversation, though I have no doubt that the account is truthfully intended. This illuminates a dividing line between the public and the private aspects of his political life which is increasingly difficult to situate in the later decades. He firstly notes that the ladies remain nameless. I asked him whether he would honour me by accepting a few books upon the subject, to which he very kindly replied that [In a parcel containing gifts from his sister Helen remained unopened because of an outstanding debt: Saw one who told me strange inventions. Gladstone had a lifelong practice of dedicated Sunday reading which, whilst not exclusive of secular works, displayed a religio-spiritual character that distinguished it from his more eclectic weekly diet. He read other spiritualist texts on Sundays and holy days. The variety of material he read indicates that his interest was not limited by a preoccupation with proving the authenticity of the supernatural phenomena discussed. Is there any evidence to suggest that he was personally moved by the material he read? He was certainly not averse to amateur divining. He had formed an opinion of Gladstone on the basis of these and now sought to develop the relationship by inviting face to face communication. It might be said that he was unremarkable for his personal experience of the fashionable phenomena of the day. But what was the overall significance of this, both for Gladstone himself, and for our understanding of him as a Victorian politico-intellectual? There are three parts to the following explanation: Gladstone, politics and the spirits Science and politics shared with spiritualism and psychical research a concern with questions about authority, influence and communication. Gladstone should be called in to the Great Unknown on Ascension Day [Stead and conducted in the presence of two

clairvoyants and a stenographer. A variety of spirits communicated, including Cardinal Manning. For all his populist rhetoric he venerated an Aristotelian model of government by a knowledgeable hierarchy, and was wary of anything that might encourage anarchy. She examines the way in which Gladstone was presented, by Walter Bagehot and others, as a political [End Page 13] mesmerist subduing the collective will of the masses to his power. Winter notes and Lamont argues similarly the independent licence that educated Victorians exhibited and were accorded by society when it came to judging experiments and evidence. A constant preoccupation of his, well illustrated by diary examples and annotations, was describing and judging phenomena that he had witnessed personally. For example, the items in the JSRP in which he showed most interest concerned phenomena he had experienced. He especially noted experiments where number guessing was involved, undoubtedly comparing them to his experience with Mr Cumberland. The latter demonstrates the increasing levels of confidence observable amongst Victorian witnesses. The ability and fitness of those of a lower class to judge matters of political import were frequently questioned by their social superiors; those involved in spiritualism regularly faced charges of fraudulence. But there is evidence to show that the practice of independent questioning and evaluation, by spiritualists and others, was fostered and encouraged across a much broader social [End Page 14] range. They were to be interpreted by the individual reader, having learnt techniques from the book. Thus Albert Snow concluded his first letter to Gladstone: I was formerly the Master of a Church Grammar school; you may rely on my discretion, especially as if I succeed in satisfying you and thereby rendering you an important service, I shall then ask you kindly to do me a small service in return. Several volumes refer to Gladstone within the printed text. Being a series of Angelic and Holy Communications received by a Lady. He was clearly confident about his own ability to judge the truth of both political and psychical phenomena. Versions of this identity were being acculturated into communal narratives, by ordinary spiritualists with often quite different political agendas. London Spiritualism tended to be middle-class dominated and largely Christian in emphasis. Provincial Spiritualism was more lower-middle and upper-working class and was strong in anti-Christian sentiment. This aspect greatly interested Gladstone. In , he published an article detailing his own religious classification system: For example, he placed double lines of notice both beside S. Despite such sustained interest, it was difficult for Christians and spiritualists to agree on a basis of proof. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, but one should be careful not to exaggerate as Lamont does the difference between levels of serious scientific and Christian engagement with spiritualism. But how did Gladstone fit into this debate? Gladstone had no time for outright attacks on Christianity and his readings indicate where he drew the line with regard to criticisms. He was steadfast in his veneration for the teaching role of the church and the historical nature of its traditions. Over Christmas and New Year he read G. Gladstone disagreed with this immoderate statement. For them, no need to wait until the grave close on the body in order to appreciate the happiness in store for them in the spirit world. Maurice in *The Kingdom of Christ*, which Gladstone had read in and Many spiritualists yearned to uncover universal truths about knowledge and faith. Gladstone was here arguing according to the precepts of the eighteenth-century Broad Churchman Joseph Butler Butler was a crucial resource for late-Victorian religious apologists; he was also one of the four [End Page 20] thinkers to whom Gladstone openly acknowledged a lifelong debt. For, where no one piece of evidence can be said to carry conviction, the cumulative testimony of many can carry more probable truth and provide the individual with a basis for action. Such a methodology had obvious attractions for those seeking to counter the overreaching claims of scientific rationalism and reassert the value of religious knowledge: Christian as well as spiritualist. For example, the author of *Where are the Dead?* He argued for a reconciliation between Christianity and modern life, which was to be achieved through liberal-minded ecumenical co-operation and the application of a Butlerian methodology. Be not afraid oftentimes to suspend your judgement; or to feel and admit to yourselves how narrow are the bounds of knowledge. Do not too readily assume that to us have been opened royal roads to truth. This emphasis on comparative religion and spirituality within a theological library was both ahead of, but also clearly of its time. As well as designing this classification scheme, Gladstone left instructions about how the library should be used. It was to be put to practical use. In his writings on religious thought Gladstone returned repeatedly to the subject of education and the need for a revitalization of religious intellectual life. For his own departure point was not one of doubt,

like many of his contemporaries at the SPR, but faith. And yet this was faith in an inclusive not exclusive revelation. During his life Gladstone moved through several religious phases. He was brought up a strict evangelical, flirted with anglo-catholicism in his middle years and ended up a liberal catholic.

Chapter 3 : Radicalism, what is it? - Wikisource, the free online library

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Cite By Barbara Pezzini, Editor-in-chief of the journal *Visual Resources*, art and cultural historian In , the portrait of William Ewart Gladstone by Frank Holl, an artist who enjoyed great fame as a society portraitist, was a much talked about exhibit Fig. It was a sombre portrait, in colour and tone: Nine years later, Holl attempted to equal and surpass Millais, taking inspiration from the latter in the standing, three-quarter pose of Gladstone and his sombre dress. He had been in Opposition for two years, having lost the electoral majority following his support of Home Rule for Ireland. Nevertheless, especially in , it still fulfilled an important function of Gladstonian propaganda: It is not a coincidence that this aspect of the statesman was reinforced on that year also in the painting by Henry Jamyn Brooks, *The Private View of the Old Masters Exhibition*, Royal Academy, , where Gladstone was included among the fashionable and high-powered crowd of the London art world. Holl was to die after a few weeks, aged only forty-three. *Emerging from the Shadows London: Tauris, ,* Eugenio Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone,* Cambridge: New Studies and Perspectives Farnham: Oxford University Press, , 11, Barbara Pezzini is currently preparing a publication on Gladstone, William Agnew, and the Marlborough sale. *Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, , 93*; Joseph S. Ashgate, , 99 Princeton University Press, , Methuen, , 20 Springer, , 86 Wiley Blackwell, , *Portraiture, Caricature and Visual Culture in Britain, c. Manchester University Press ,* National Portrait Gallery Publications, ,

Chapter 4 : Premierships of William Ewart Gladstone - Wikipedia

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Michael Barker, Gladstone and Radicalism. The Reconstruction of Liberal Policy in Britain. David Bebbington and Roger Swift eds. Biagini, Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform. Eugenio Biagini and Alastair Reid eds. Sydney Buxton, Finance and Politics. Volume I John Murray, F. Hirst, Gladstone as Financier and Economist Sir Wemyss Reid ed. Viscount Gladstone, After Thirty Years Tollemache, Talks with Mr. William Ewart Gladstone Gladstone , pp. A biography excerpt and text search. The life of William Ewart Gladstone, 3 vols. A Bicentenary Portrait Gladstone 2 vols, " The Encyclopedia of Libertarianism. The Lion and the Unicorn: Gladstone vs Disraeli The Mind of Gladstone: Religion, Homer and Politics Gladstone, church, state, and Tractarianism: Derek Beales, Gladstone on the Italian question. January in Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento, a. Gladstone 2 vols, online edition Isba, Anne. Gladstone and Women , London: Gladstone and the Irish nation online edition. Gladstone, whiggery and the liberal party, " Gladstone, home rule and the Ulster question, " Gladstone and the liberal party, " Gladstone and Italian unification, " Disraeli, Gladstone and the eastern question: God and Politics Gladstone and Ireland The Formation of the Liberal Party, "

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In 1792, the family name was changed from Gladstones to Gladstone by royal licence. His father was made a baronet, of Fasque and Balfour, in 1792. One of his earliest childhood memories was being made to stand on a table and say "Ladies and gentlemen" to the assembled audience, probably at a gathering to promote the election of George Canning as MP for Liverpool in 1809. In 1809, young "Willy" visited Scotland for the first time, as he and his brother John travelled with their father to Edinburgh, Biggar and Dingwall to visit their relatives. Willy and his brother were both made freemen of the burgh of Dingwall. In December 1810, he achieved the double first-class degree he had long desired. Gladstone served as President of the Oxford Union, where he developed a reputation as an orator, which followed him into the House of Commons. At university, Gladstone was a Tory and denounced Whig proposals for parliamentary reform. Marriage and family[edit] Gladstone c. 1813. The following year, having met her in at the London home of Old Etonian friend and then fellow-Conservative MP James Milnes Gaskell, [17] he married Catherine Glynne, to whom he remained married until his death 59 years later. They had eight children together: They had three children. Edward Wickham on 27 December They had five children and were ancestors of the Gladstone baronets after They had two daughters. Maud Rendel on 30 January William Henry predeceased his father by seven years. Much to the criticism of his peers, he continued this practice decades later, even after he was elected Prime Minister. Opposition to the Opium Wars[edit] The opium trade faced intense opposition from Gladstone. In September 1840 he lost the forefinger of his left hand in an accident while reloading a gun; thereafter he wore a glove or finger sheath stall. Gladstone became concerned with the situation of "coal whippers". These were the men who worked on London docks, "whipping" in baskets from ships to barges or wharves all incoming coal from the sea. They were called up and relieved through public houses and therefore a man could not get this job unless he possessed the favourable opinion of the publican, who looked upon most favourably those who drank. Publicans issued employment solely on the capacity of the man to pay, and men often left the pub to work drunk. They spent their savings on drink to secure the favourable opinion of publicans and therefore further employment. Gladstone passed the Coal Vendors Act to set up a central office for employment. When this Act expired in 1842 a Select Committee was appointed by the Lords in 1842 to look into the question. Gladstone gave evidence to the Committee: Then the question being whether legislative interference was required I was at length induced to look at a remedy of an extraordinary character as the only one I thought applicable to the case Gladstone, who had previously argued in a book that a Protestant country should not pay money to other churches, nevertheless supported the increase in the Maynooth grant and voted for it in Commonsâ€”but resigned rather than face charges that he had compromised his principles to remain in office. Throughout the corn law crisis of 1846, therefore, Gladstone was in the highly anomalous and possibly unique position of being a secretary of state without a seat in either house and thus unanswerable to parliament. Please help improve this article by adding citations to reliable sources. Unsourced material may be challenged and removed. He was re-elected for the University of Oxford in 1846. Gladstone became a constant critic of Lord Palmerston. The school was set up as an episcopal foundation to spread the ideas of Anglicanism in Scotland, and to educate the sons of the gentry. During the late 1840s, when he was out of office, he worked extensively to turn Hawarden into a viable business. In May 1849 he began his most active "rescue work" and met prostitutes late at night on the street, in his house or in their houses, writing their names in a private notebook. He aided the House of Mercy at Clewer near Windsor which exercised extreme in-house discipline and spent much time arranging employment for ex-prostitutes. In a "Declaration" signed on 7 December and only to be opened after his death by his son Stephen, Gladstone wrote: With reference to rumours which I believe were at one time afloat, though I know not with what degree of currency: Gladstone became concerned at the political situation in Naples and the arrest and imprisonment of Neapolitan liberals. In February Gladstone visited the prisons

where they were held and in April and July he published two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen against the Neapolitan government and responded to his critics in *An Examination of the Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government* in . After his unfulfilment, Fortunato was dismissed by the sovereign. The Whig Sir Charles Wood and the Tory Disraeli had both been perceived to have failed in the office and so this provided Gladstone with a great political opportunity. We propose, then, to re-enact it for two years, from April, , to April, , at the rate of 7d. Under this proposal, on 5 April , the income-tax will by law expire. He knew that its abolition depended on a considerable retrenchment in government expenditure. The more people that paid income tax, Gladstone believed, the more the public would pressure the government into abolishing it. Matthew has written that Gladstone "made finance and figures exciting, and succeeded in constructing budget speeches epic in form and performance, often with lyrical interludes to vary the tension in the Commons as the careful exposition of figures and argument was brought to a climax". Even those who do not admire the Budget, or who are injured by it, admit the merit of the performance. It has raised Gladstone to a great political elevation, and, what is of far greater consequence than the measure itself, has given the country assurance of a man equal to great political necessities, and fit to lead parties and direct governments. He proclaimed that "the expenses of a war are the moral check which it has pleased the Almighty to impose on the ambition and the lust of conquest that are inherent in so many nations". Spirits, malt, and sugar were taxed to raise the rest of the money needed. Gladstone in , painted by George Frederic Watts. The Conservative Leader Lord Derby became Prime Minister in , but Gladstoneâ€™"who like the other Peelites was still nominally a Conservativeâ€™"declined a position in his government, opting not to sacrifice his free trade principles. Eventually, he became notorious for this activity, prompting Lord Randolph Churchill to observe: Every afternoon the whole world is invited to assist at the crashing fall of some beech or elm or oak. The forest laments in order that Mr Gladstone may perspire. Gladstone was a lifelong bibliophile ; it has been suggested that in his lifetime, he read around 20, books, and eventually owned a library of over 32, In , Lord Palmerston formed a new mixed government with Radicals included, and Gladstone again joined the government with most of the other remaining Peelites as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to become part of the new Liberal Party. Gladstone inherited a deficit of nearly five million pounds, with income tax now set at 5d fivepence. Like Peel, Gladstone dismissed the idea of borrowing to cover the deficit. Gladstone argued that "In time of peace nothing but dire necessity should induce us to borrow". Usually not more than two-thirds of a tax imposed could be collected in a financial year so Gladstone therefore imposed the extra four pence at a rate of 8d. For the first half of the year the lower incomes paid 8d. Gladstone wrote to Cobden: Neither you nor I attach for the moment any superlative value to this Treaty for the sake of the extension of British trade. What I look to is the social good, the benefit to the relations of the two countries, and the effect on the peace of Europe". This budget "marked the final adoption of the Free Trade principle, that taxation should be levied for Revenue purposes alone, and that every protective, differential, or discriminating duty The budget reduced the number of duties to 48, with 15 duties constituting the majority of the revenue. To finance these reductions in indirect taxation, the income tax, instead of being abolished, was raised to 10d. Although Palmerston supported continuation of the duty, using it and income tax revenue to buy arms, a majority of his Cabinet supported Gladstone. The Bill to abolish duties on paper narrowly passed Commons but was rejected by the House of Lords. No money bill had been rejected by Lords for over years, and a furore arose over this vote. The next year, Gladstone included the abolition of paper duty in a consolidated Finance Bill the first ever to force the Lords to accept it, and accept it they did. The proposal in the Commons of one bill only per session for the national finances was a precedent uniformly followed from that date until , and it has been ever since the rule. In he wrote to his brother, who was a member of the Financial Reform Association at Liverpool: The controversy between direct and indirect taxation holds a minor, though important place". It is just like learning the grammar then, which when once learned need not be referred to afterwards". George Holyoake recalled in When Mr Gladstone visited the North, you well remember when word passed from the newspaper to the workman that it circulated through mines and mills, factories and workshops, and they came out to greet the only British minister who ever gave the English people a right because it was just they should have it Men stood in the blaze of chimneys; the roofs of factories were crowded; colliers came up from the mines; women

held up their children on the banks that it might be said in after life that they had seen the Chancellor of the People go by. The river was covered like the land. Every man who could ply an oar pulled up to give Mr Gladstone a cheer. When Lord Palmerston went to Bradford the streets were still, and working men imposed silence upon themselves. When Mr Gladstone appeared on the Tyne he heard cheer no other English minister ever heard. At the beginning of each session, Gladstone would passionately urge the Cabinet to adopt new policies, while Palmerston would fixedly stare at a paper before him. He did not consider slavery a problem; when Gladstone was first elected to Parliament his father owned over two and a half thousand slaves, and the young man helped his father to obtain full payment for them. Great Britain was officially neutral at the time. Gladstone later regretted the Newcastle speech. Queen Victoria was not pleased with this statement, and an outraged Palmerston considered it seditious incitement to agitation. Palmerston campaigned for Gladstone in Oxford because he believed that his constituents would keep him "partially muzzled"; many Oxford graduates were Anglican clergymen at that time. First premiership [edit] Main articles: Gladstone stood for South West Lancashire and for Greenwich, it being quite common then for candidates to stand in two constituencies simultaneously. He became Prime Minister for the first time and remained in the office until Evelyn Ashley famously described the scene in the grounds of Hawarden Castle on 1 December, though getting the date wrong: Gladstone holding his coat on my arm while he, in his shirt sleeves, was wielding an axe to cut down a tree. Up came a telegraph messenger.

Chapter 6 : Herbert Gladstone, 1st Viscount Gladstone - Wikipedia

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Gladstone and Disraeli In the large urban constituencies the demand for a new and active liberalism had already been gaining ground, and at Westminster itself Gladstone was beginning to identify himself not only with the continued advance of free trade but also with the demand for parliamentary reform. In he forecast new directions in politics when he stated that the burden of proof concerning the case for reform rested not with the reformers but with their opponents. A year later he lost his seat representing the University of Oxford and was returned as member of Parliament for a populous Lancashire constituency. The timing was right, because, after the death of Palmerston, the question of parliamentary reform was reopened and the Second Reform Bill was passed in . The county franchise was not substantially changed, but 45 new seats were created by taking one seat from existing borough constituencies with a population of fewer than 10, Disraeli hoped that, in return for his support in passing this measure, urban workers would vote for him. He believed rightly that many of them were Conservatives already by instinct and allegiance , but in , in the first general election under the new system, it was Gladstone who was returned as prime minister. In both parties, new forces were stirring at the local level, and energetic efforts were under way to organize the electorate and the political parties along new lines. Even though Gladstone resumed power, it became apparent that the popular vote was not Liberal by divine right. In several parts of England , particularly in the industrial north, there developed a strong popular Toryism, which in Lancashire, a great centre of the cotton industry, was based partly upon deference to industrial employers, partly upon dislike of Irish immigrants, partly upon popular Protestant associations with Englishness, and not least upon what to many was a surprisingly strong support for the principles of church and state. With the development of central party machinery and local organization, the role of the crown was reduced during this period to that of merely ratifying the result of elections. Although the queen greatly preferred Disraeli to Gladstone, she could not keep Gladstone out. Her obvious partisanship made some of her acts look unconstitutional, but they would not have been deemed unconstitutional in any previous period of history. The public during this period was more interested in the political leaders than in the queen, who lived in retirement and was sharply criticized in sections of the press. The system of dual responsibility of commander in chief and secretary for war also was abolished, and the subordination of the former to the latter was asserted. In the Judicature Act , amended in , simplified the tangle of legal institutions and procedures. Gladstone, throughout his life, preferred cheap and free government to expensive and socially committed government. He was anxious indeed in to abolish income tax , on which the public finances of the future were to depend. Many of these reforms did not satisfy affected interests. If the Education Act alienated many Nonconformists, the Licensing Bills of and alienated their enemies, the brewers. In his subsequent ministry, with the assistance of men like Richard Cross , the home secretary, Disraeli justified at last his reputation as a social reformer. There was no similar burst of social legislation until after Gladstone had never been a Palmerstonian. He was always anxious to avoid the resort to force, and he put his trust not in national prejudices but in an enlightened public opinion in Europe as well as in Britain. His object was justice rather than power. In practice, however, he often gave the impression of a man who vacillated and could not act firmly. Disraeli, on the other hand, was willing to take risks to enhance British prestige and to seek to profit from, rather than to moralize about, foreign dissensions. But these moves did not involve him in any European entanglements, nor did the costly, if brilliantly led, campaigns of Maj. Frederick Roberts in Afghanistan 1878 and the annexation of the Transvaal in South Africa in . It was the Middle Eastern crisis of 1878 that produced the liveliest 19th-century debate on foreign policy issues. His pro-Turkish sympathies irritated many Liberals, and, after Turkey had gone on to suppress with great violence a revolt in Bulgaria in , the Liberal conscience was stirred, and mass meetings were held in many parts of the country. Gladstone, who had gone into retirement as Liberal leader in , was slower to respond to the issue than many of his followers, but, once roused, he emerged from retirement, wrote an immensely influential pamphlet on the atrocities, and led a public campaign on the platform and in the press. Opinion swung back to his side, and in Disraeli sent a

British fleet to the Dardanelles. London was seized by war fever—the term jingoism was coined to describe it—which intensified when news arrived that a peace agreement, the Treaty of San Stefano, had been signed whereby Turkey accepted maximum Russian demands. Reservists were mobilized in Britain, and Indian troops were sent to the Mediterranean. The immediate crisis passed, and, at the Congress of Berlin, an international conference held in June and July, which Disraeli attended, the incursions into Turkish territory were reduced, Russia was kept well away from Constantinople, and Britain acquired Cyprus. In the general election of April, the Liberals returned to power triumphantly, with a majority of over the Conservatives. Disraeli, who had moved to the House of Lords in 1851, died in 1881.

Economy and society Although the Industrial Revolution traditionally has dominated accounts of change over the course of this period, recent research has emphasized the uneven and complex nature of this change. Nevertheless, over the course of the 19th century, the rise of manufacturing industry was striking, with the decisive shift occurring in the first three decades of the century. In 1800, 22 percent of the active British workforce was employed in manufacturing, mining, and construction, while 36 percent was involved in agriculture; by 1850, manufacturing, mining, and construction had increased to 40 percent, while agriculture had dropped to 21 percent. By 1870, agriculture had fallen even farther, to only 9 percent. From 1800 to 1870, raw cotton imports had increased unevenly from 1 million pounds to 10 million pounds, while exports of manufactured cotton piece goods increased from 1 million yards to 1 billion. Manchester was the centre of the cotton industry. During the same period, however, similar steam-driven technology accounted for the expansion of the woolen textiles industry, with Australia, which had provided no raw wool for Britain in 1800, supplying about 30 million pounds in 1870. Bradford and Leeds were the centres of the woolen textile industry.

Wellcome Library, London The second, capital goods, phase of industrialization, beginning in the mid-19th century, broadened the manufacturing base into areas such as shipping and engineering. In tandem with this advance was the growth of the service industry as the economy expanded over time. The advent of mass consumption in the second half of the 19th century—resulting in the slow development of mass retailing by multiple stores—was one consequence of this. Even in mechanized industries, managerial hierarchies were weakly elaborated, and there was a considerable dependence on worker skill and authority as well as a limited penetration of technology. Also of great importance were domestic service and small shop keeping. The upshot was not a linear process of change in which the end result was de-skilled factory production and the homogenization of the condition of workers but rather a complex set of outcomes in which the relations of capital and labour represented a variegated division of power. The labour movement itself reflected these divisions, as the increasingly strong trade union movement of this period was in fact largely shaped to meet the interests and demands of the skilled male head of household. People were concerned too about the rising population as well as the nature and pace of economic change. In the first census of 1801, the population of England and Wales was about 9 million and that of Scotland about 1 million. By 1871, the comparable figures were 18 million and 3 million. At its peak in the decade between 1846 and 1856, the growth rate for Britain as a whole was 17 percent. Indeed, national income at constant prices increased nearly threefold between 1800 and 1870, substantially more than the increase in population. The new technology reached its peak in the age of the railway and the steamship. Both coal and iron exports increased dramatically, with coal exports amounting to 3 million tons in 1870. Coal mining was scattered in the coal-producing districts; there were few large towns, and miners lived a distinctive life, having their own patterns of work and leisure. Iron production was associated with larger plants and considerable urbanization. In South Wales, for example, one of the areas of industrial expansion, the Dowlais works employed 6,000 people and turned out 20,000 tons of pig iron each year during the 1840s. Industrialization preceded the coming of the railway, but the railroad did much to lower transport costs, to consume raw materials, to stimulate investment through an extended capital market, and to influence the location of industry. There was as much argument among contemporaries about the impact of railways as there was about the impact of steam engines in factories, but there was general agreement about the fact that the coming of the railway marked a great divide in British social history. By 1870, Britain had more registered shipping tonnage than the rest of the world put together.

Cultural change The development of private life It was in this period that private life achieved a new prominence in British society. However, privacy was more apparent for the better-off in society than for the poor. Restrictions on privacy among the latter were apparent in what were by modern

standards large households, in which space was often shared with those outside the immediate, conjugal family of the head of household, including relatives, servants, and lodgers. Privacy was also restricted by the small size of dwellings; for example, in Scotland in 1841, 26 percent of the population lived in single-room dwellings, 39 percent in two-room dwellings, and 57 percent lived more than two to a room. It was not until the 20th century that this situation changed dramatically. Nonetheless, differences within Britain were important, and flat living in a Glasgow tenement was very different from residence in a self-contained house characteristic of large parts of the north of England. This British kind of residential pattern as a whole was itself very different from continental Europe, and despite other differences between the classes, there were similarities among the British in terms of the house as the cradle of modern privacy. The older cellular structure of housing, evident in the tangle of courts and alleys in the old city centres, often with cellar habitations as well, resulted in the distinction between public and private taking extremely ambiguous form. In the municipal housing that was increasingly widespread after mid-century, this gave way to a more open layout in which single elements were connected to each other. Among housing reformers there was a dislike of dead ends, courts, and the old situation where habitations were turned in upon themselves in their own social privacy. The streets outside were and remain surprisingly wide in contrast to the narrow alleys behind. Such streets allowed a maximum of free passage. The street outside was public and communal. The alley or lane behind was less socially neutral than the street, still rather secret. It was not a traffic thoroughfare for the public at large, being reserved for the immediate inhabitants, for the hanging of washing, and perhaps for the playing of football soccer. In between these public and semipublic spheres and the house within was the space of the yard at the back, which in contradistinction to the street was private and individual if less so, potentially, than the house itself. In this fashion, municipal authorities sought to inculcate privacy in the lower classes. However, conditions worked against domestic privacy for them, and it was in the homes of the better-off that privacy was most developed. Within the dwellings of the more privileged, there was a trend towards the specialization of rooms, the separation of the public from the private sides of life, and the development of distinct spheres for women and children. A society based on achieved status, as British society was slowly becoming, was very concerned to regulate and legitimize social relationships of gender and status, and the spaces of the home served as a means of doing this. From about the 1840s a family pattern developed that was conditioned by spatial environments that resulted from the new significance of home and domesticity. The home was to be a retreat from the stress of the world and a haven of security. This change in perspective was associated with other developments, namely the retreat from the centre of cities to the suburbs—evident in Manchester, for example, as early as the 1830s—along with a concomitant switch in housing style from the 18th-century terrace row houses to the detached or semidetached villa. In the move from the terrace, what was once the common garden of the square gave way to a separate, private garden. The common and more public rooms of the house, which were once for use by all members of the family, were relocated on the ground floor, with the other stories of the house being limited to the use of family members in a distinct domestic sphere. In terms of the development of working-class domesticity, by mid-century there was a clear gender division of labour between men and women though it was often contradicted in practice by economic necessity and local employment conditions, based on the assumption that a man was to be the main and preferably sole breadwinner and head of the household. This pattern of gender relationships had profound influence on working-class institutions, not only on the trade union movement but also on the club and association life that was so central to the leisure activity of the less well-off. However, the Victorian middle-class family should not be confused with the small nuclear family of the 20th century. Families were large and intermarried so that the boundaries between the categories of relative, dependent, and friend were indistinct, recalling an older notion of family as the circle of dependents. The relationship between public and private was therefore similarly complicated. Because the domestic interior could be the site of all sorts of familial and extra-familial interactions and obligations, the nexus of private life might also be distinctly public. Of course, privacy was accelerated by means other than family and domestic arrangements. Moreover, privacy in life led to privacy in death, as what may be called social burial in the old churchyard gave way to the new privacy of the cemetery.

Chapter 7 : Radical: Beers, beards, boards and bangles | Gladstone Observer

William Ewart Gladstone, FRS, FSS (/ ˈ ɛ ː ɪ ˈ ɡ l ɔː d s t ɪ n /; 29 December - 19 May) was a British statesman of the Liberal Party. In a career lasting over sixty years, he served for twelve years as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, spread over four terms beginning in and ending in

The radical and the conservative Liberals: Until this was because they were the leading opposition within the party—afterwards when the Whigs left over Home Rule that is a nearly independent parliament for Ireland their and other liberals' defection from the party placed the Liberals' previous normal majority in severe danger. This party had been in favour of oligarchy and the exclusion of the monarchy from party politics and the control of the Royal Prerogative by ministers responsible to Parliament. They are often identified with a rather sceptical and cynical attitude to religion though it is probably rather easy to exaggerate that—and even some historians who accept that argue that by the late nineteenth century many were in fact pious Anglicans. Gladstone as a Tory had been reared on wariness of the Whigs and his early high Tory calling for a sanctified state in many ways can be seen as a wholesale rejection of and attack on Whig ideology from the right. But by the late nineteenth century the differences between Gladstone as liberal and the Whigs had grown increasingly hard and relevant. At the same time the issues which had once separated Whig and Tory were now increasingly irrelevant to party politics. In particular what had formed the core of Whig progressives was a desire to open up the establishment and centres of authority. But this was combined with a support. This even extended to what one might call a "typical" Whig view of marriage. However they tended to be fairly hostile to divorce and were at best unenthusiastic about legislation to liberalise it. Thus they had an overall theme—loosening or opening up established institutions was one thing—dismantling them another. It was Home Rule that precipitated the more or less complete departure of the Whigs— but their departure had been long in coming. This is generally ascribed to snobbery to put it harshly or to a belief in aristocratic leadership to put it more positively. Others have emphasised the role of experience though that is a slightly circular argument. I would suggest part of the explanation was to tie leading moderates and members of the Lords which was always the more difficult house for liberal reforms. With them both rewarded by office and invested in the possibility of passage the actual passage of Cabinet legislation was much more likely. The classic case was Goschen. Even after the departure of the Whigs and many others there remained something of a rightwing to the liberals including Lord Rosebery himself a man with some Whig tendencies. It was to be over military spending after all that Gladstone formerly resigned from government for good. This is a picture of Lord Hartington latter eight Duke of Devonshire of one of the oldest and richest families in England.

Chapter 8 : William Gladstone - Conservapedia

The radical and the conservative Liberals: Gladstone and the Whigs The most consistent problem for Gladstone's agenda in the Liberal party throughout Gladstone's years of party leadership (from to with six years of theoretical break after) was the Whigs.

Throwing expenses of elections on the rates to pave the way for paid representatives. Opening places of amusement on the Sabbath. It is possible to affix to each of these principles the well known name of some Radical advocate Few, let us hope, would stand on every plank of this platform, but this very discordance is a subject for our after consideration. What we may observe now, is, that if but few of these articles approve themselves to your judgment you have no right to vote with a party which embraces such a code between its extremes. But it is not only the principles of Radicalism which dismay me, but its conduct in support of them, nor does experience of so called Liberal administrations engender confidence in Englishmen jealous of their national glory and welfare. On these grounds then we are opposed to Radicalism because of its want of cohesiveness. I will make a few remarks on each of these statements and verify them by some simple facts. Its want of cohesiveness. A glance at the doctrines of Radicalism will manifest their cardinal principle destructive. So long as some common object for attack can be found, so long a union between the various shades and sections of Radicalism will exist. The moment their energies are summoned to a higher office, inherent divisions succeed, and a boasted political party with an overwhelming majority resolves itself into discordant and angry factions. Look at the picture of the Great Liberal party with its majority of 70 failing to execute its own task of Reform, and yielding office for two years to the minority. Adullamites, Whigs, Liberals and advanced Radicals, disunited, wrangling, and more bitterly divided from each other than from their common foe. Nor is there any question except the present one of the Irish Church, so artfully selected for the purpose, which could or would rally the entire party. This once disposed of, the same anarchy must inevitably follow, and with the same results. Gladstone who with his boasted majority of 60 or 70 can charge the government with extravagance in the face of his own controlling power! Others have not been slow to imitate their leaders by raising false issues. In the face of the fact that Messrs. Gladstone and Bright dictated to their followers at Carlton Terrace to throw out the Conservative Reform Bill on the second reading a proceeding which led to the tea room party! These are by no means isolated instances. Its incentives to unprincipled ambition. It is a bad thing when as in America every man is perpetually involved in political turmoil. This endless excitement nourishes a race of unscrupulous politicians, selfseekers, covetous of their own aggrandizement and possessing the two essential requisites of a ready tongue and great assurance. Such fellows talk themselves and their hearers into anything, and their fluency possesses an influence in direct proportion to the ignorance of their audience. Whether they talk sense or nonsense is not the question. So long as they denounce with fierceness, and declaim with volubility, they are credited with all knowledge and become leaders of the people! The influence obtained by such men will necessarily be exerted for their own purposes. Secretaries and Delegates must live, and Trades unions must support them, and exist for this purpose if for no other. One reason why Democracies have never answered hitherto is, that their founders, well intentioned men, have never estimated in their balance this great thing human nature. They seem to have always taken an optimistic view of things to have fancied that noble and patriotic men would always be rushing to shed their blood, or spend their lives for their country that their fellow countrymen would always be so discerning as to choose men of ability, virtue, and excellence for their leaders, and that such men would always be the embodiments of self sacrifice and self denial! In no other way can we account for the great blunders of Democracies hitherto, which have proved just the reverse that the best men do not come to the front that the noblest talent is not enlisted in the service of the state that wherever salutary checks are withdrawn, and strong incentives are offered, unprincipled men make politics a trade. Radicalism does offer such incentives. It is the creed any adventurer does and will at once take up to make his way in the political world, Its false and deceptive professions. When such a man wishes to start a political career, he must build upon the basis of superficial popularity, to which end he will adopt the most specious creed he can and the

wider the better for his chances with the unthinking. His professions will be extensive. Brought face to face with realities at last, he finds that his ardour is cooled, and that the possibility of performance is not in proportion to his profuseness of profession. Frantic Radicals have often ripened into cautious Conservatives, and the effect of official life on political creed is so well known, that the comparative mildness and moderation of Mr. The mode in which the Liberal party has all along dealt with Reform is an apt illustration. Had sincerity been an ingredient in their professions, there is no excuse whatever for a party in office so long, with such a majority, not having realized this among others of their political aspirations. Odd enough, nearly all the great questions of importance, such as Catholic emancipation, Free trade, and Reform, which are claimed as Liberal triumphs have awaited their solution at the hands of Conservative administrations. Reform, made a political cry by Lord Russell for the purpose of rallying a discordant party, was dangled before the popular gaze until it had performed its office and then was quietly shelved. Whether the genial, patriotic English spirit of Lord Palmerston, or the conviction that he alone could exorcise the bugbear from the House of Commons was the secret of his influence, remains a question. The union of the Liberal benches was dissolved when it became a proximate reality, and the test was by no means complimentary to the professions which had heralded it. And what was the object of Liberal Reform? Bright and Gladstone to widen the area of the liberal constituencies by lowering the qualification a little, so as just to include the fag end of the middle class, who, always having a grievance of some kind, and being chiefly given to Dissent, might be safely reckoned upon as Radical? Bright said, we should have had two bites at our cherry in 40 years!! When our so called Liberal friends were made to swallow the cherry at once, were there no wry faces? I maintain the Liberal professions of Reform were deceptive and conceived for the sole purpose of party aggrandizement. Again take the question of Free Trade. If Free Trade be good for one thing it is good for another; and surely in the race of life, the gifts of God are not to be checked and hampered by tyrannical restrictions, which enslave individual character, induce poverty and suffering, fetter capital and labour, and injure national wealth. The revelations of the Sheffield and Manchester atrocities, whilst they arouse our indignation, excite our wonder, that no Radical leader except Mr. Roebuck who will most probably lose his seat for it has fearlessly denounced such things and pointed out that these Protectionist Trades unions are utterly at variance with the principles of Free Trade. But Radicals and Liberals are professedly the especial friends of the poor and working man! During the long period of Liberal power, what member of the party has proved his claim to the title? Electoral Reform has been the only panacea suggested! Shall we contrast the munificence of the Lancashire nobleman during the cotton famine with the magniloquence of the Lancashire manufacturer? If space permitted I might refer you to the Factory acts, and a dozen other Conservative measures specially beneficial to the operative which either received no support from Mr. Bright, or encountered his strenuous opposition. Its sacrifice of principle to popularity. As a spurious popularity is the basis on which Radicalism must rest, it is not surprising that principle should be subordinated to it. When the Conservative administration inherited from their predecessors the vexed question of meetings in the Parks, did Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone by word or sign interpose so as to vindicate order and authority, and a course of action, which judging from the out spoken sentiments of Sir G. Grey they would have adopted themselves] Bad as was this behaviour on the part of the Liberal leaders it was nothing when compared with Mr. Finlen leaving his starving children in their wretched den proceeded with a deputation one Saturday afternoon to communicate to Mr. Gladstone their valuable sympathy, their disapproval of the House of Lords, and their intention to hold a meeting on the Sabbath in Hyde Park to express their pent up feelings. One can fancy Mr. Gladstone, a gentleman of lofty character and of deep religious feeling, thanking them for their sympathy, disabusing them of their opinion about the Lords, among whom some of his friends sit, but stating most unequivocally that being a man of religious principles he could not sanction any political meeting whatever on Sunday in Hyde Park or any where else. Can it be believed that for the sake of popularity with such men, under such a leader, he gave them an answer, which, if it meant anything, implied that they might possibly have a good reason for what they were doing? Its restless love of novelty. Politicians who depend upon the breath of popular applause, find the true duties of the statesman irksome, uninteresting and uninviting. Such labours besides are unaccompanied by the gratification of political excitement. Any fanciful crotchet likely to beguile the unthinkingâ€”any subject that offers the chance of agitation is therefore eagerly

embraced by them. Such matters as Female Suffrage, Confiscation of land in Ireland, and philosophic nostrums of all kinds are preferred to practical national good. What is new, startling, or plausible, readily usurps the place of unostentatious patriotic work, A Session of Parliament has been frittered away, and remedial measures of all kinds postponed to gratify this whim about the Irish Church;â€”a scheme which simply means, that all useful legislation must be impeded until Mr. Gladstone is back again in office! In this race for popularity each must advance and outstrip his fellow if he would not be left behind, and representatives of the old style have hard work to keep up with those of the new. Earl Russell adopted the wise idea of issuing a Commission upon the Irish Church to find out what was wrong and then to remedy itâ€”rather a common sense way of doing things. Gladstone went in for a clean sweep. When his son Lord Amberley went as a Candidate to Leeds, the rapidity of his political growth in 24 hours was most astonishing! Its contempt of experience. The love of novelty arising from the race for popularity, leads these guides of the people to prefer experiment to experience, and to ignore the salutary lessons it would teach them. The tone of many articles of the press, and of many election addresses, induces the inference that the triumph of Democracy among us ought to be a subject of the warmest congratulations! This suggests Its illogical and inconsistent conduct. No instance could be more appropriate in illustration of this very prominent characteristic than the conduct of Mr. Gladstone and his friends during the late Session of Parliament. If there is one topic more than another worn threadbare it is the necessity of protecting the poor oppressed voter. To this end, their great hobbyâ€”the Ballotâ€”is periodically trotted forth. How far this laudable motive is real may be gathered from the fact, that influenced by the terrible history of past Elections in Ireland, anticipating also, that in presence of enkindled religious animosities, intimidation and violence would be more rife during the impending contest in November, the government proposed to protect the voter by largely increasing there the number of polling placesâ€”a course often adopted among ourselves after any signal riot. Gladstone and his friendsâ€”the champions of the oppressed voter, threw out the measure, sacrificing their credit for consistency to an unscrupulous resolve that the Romish priesthood should have supreme control over the elections, and that Mr. The privileges of class influence are a never ending theme of Radical reproach, yet if any class exists the influence of which has been pernicious to every state which has had the misfortune to experience it, Spain or Italy or Irelandâ€”the Romish Priesthood is such. To it is fairly due the ignorance, the squalor, the low condition and disloyalty of the Irish poor. For years according to their own account they have had a preponderating influence, and to their door it must be laid. What good has been accomplished has been due to the counter-persuasion. Yet with this stern fact before them Radical policy tends to augment this pernicious influence, and to rivet the papal chains more firmly. Bright is especially remarkable for a forge tfulness which renders him often inconsistent. In this Irish question he deals as all his party do with Ireland as a separate nation, and not as part of our common country as we maintain it to be: During the debate on the Scotch Reform bill when the question of providing additional representatives was being discussed, he gave vent to the sentiment that there was "no difference between north of the Thames and north of the Tweed"!! Why, we ask, west of the channel? If time permitted, we might profitably review his conduct in perpetually fastening upon the aristocracy of this country the stale reproach of Protectionist sympathies, and ignoring the fact that they are only to be found now a days flourishing in all their vigour among the Radical Republicans of his favourite America. Radical Papers which harp upon the fancied grievances of Ireland have no word of sympathy or remonstrance on behalf of the down trodden Southern states.

This was in flagrant contrast with the principles of Midlothian on which Gladstone had won the support of the radicals (and a landslide majority) in , and seemed to indicate that the centralised parliamentary union between Britain and Ireland was inconsistent with Liberalism.

Finance[edit] In Gladstone appointed Robert Lowe 1892 Chancellor of the Exchequer, expecting him to hold down public spending. Public spending rose, and Gladstone pronounced Lowe "wretchedly deficient. Lowe systematically underestimated revenue, enabling him to resist the clamour for tax cuts, and to reduce the national debt instead. He insisted that the tax system be fair to all classes. By his own criterion of fairness—that the balance between direct and indirect taxation remain unchanged—he succeeded. Historians point out that this balance had never been a good measure of class incidence and was by that time thoroughly archaic. He was also able he resumed the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in August till the dissolution of Parliament in early to reduce the income tax to 3 pence in the pound in , and the next year proposed to abolish it altogether if he won the next general election. Gladstone published an anonymous article in the *Edinburgh Review* in October espousing his views, but it did not remain anonymous for long. France would regain both provinces in and —but only after two World Wars with Germany. Army reform[edit] Gladstone paid little attention to military affairs but in pushed through Parliament major changes in Army organisation. In he abolished flogging, raising the private soldier status to more like an honourable career. In Cardwell abolished "bounty money" for recruits, discharged known bad characters from the ranks. He pulled 20,000 soldiers out of self-governing colonies, like Canada, which learned they had to help defend themselves. The system meant that the rich landholding families controlled all the middle and senior ranks in the army. British officers were expected to be gentlemen and sportsmen; there was no problem if they were entirely wanting in military knowledge or leadership skills. From the Tory perspective it was essential to keep the officer corps the domain of gentlemen, and not a trade for professional experts. They warned the latter might menace the oligarchy and threaten a military coup; they preferred an inefficient army to an authoritarian state. The bill, which would have compensated current owners for their cash investments, passed Commons in but was blocked by the House of Lords. Gladstone then moved to drop the system without any reimbursements, forcing the Lords to backtrack and approve the original bill. Cardwell was not powerful enough to install a general staff system; that had to await the 20th century. He did rearrange the war department. The surveyor-general of the ordnance, and the financial secretary became key department heads reporting to the Secretary. The militia was reformed as well and integrated into the Army. The term of enlistment was reduced to 6 years, so there was more turnover and a larger pool of trained reservists. The territorial system of recruiting for regiments was standardised and adjusted to the current population. Cardwell reduced the Army budget yet increased its strength of the army by 25 battalions, field guns, and abundant stores, while the reserves available for foreign service had been raised tenfold from 3, to 36, men. It was a comfortable margin, but defections always seemed to whittle down the lead and sometimes produced defeat. Despite his age Gladstone was an indefatigable leader and organiser, and the most brilliant speaker; however he wasted energy by serving as his own Chancellor of the Exchequer for a while. His Liberal party was increasingly factionalised between the smaller "radical" contingent and the larger "Whig" grouping. Gladstone selected a relatively weak cabinet that favoured the Whigs. Even so, some Whigs were alienated because of his imperial policy, while the radical leader, Joseph Chamberlain broke away in because they opposed his home rule plan for Ireland. It has been argued that Gladstone mishandled the Bradlaugh affair, giving the opposition a religious cudgel which they used for years, with the result that his second ministry was not nearly as successful as the first. In Gladstone was convinced that to pass a Land Bill for Ireland, law and order should be restored. In February the government therefore passed the Peace Preservation Ireland Act which gave the Viceroy of Ireland powers to suspend habeas corpus , and gave him in effect the power to lock up anyone he liked for as long as he liked. In August that year Parliament passed the Land Law Ireland Act which gave Irish tenants "the three Fs"; fair rent, fixity security of tenure; and the right to freely sell their holdings.

Parliamentary reform continued with the Redistribution of Seats Act. He abolished the tax on malt for the farmers, funding this by adding one pence on income tax and introducing a duty on beer, in 1862. In 1863 he reduced the income tax to five pence in the pound, funding this by increasing the duty on spirits, probates and legacies. In his last Budget in 1866 Gladstone added to the income tax. Especially in his Midlothian campaign speeches of 1868 he had expounded on his Liberal philosophy of government. The major concern of the campaign was with foreign affairs; with evangelical fervour he articulated his vision of a world community, governed by law, and protecting the weak. The basis was universalism and inclusiveness; his emotional appeals reached to the sense of concern for others, rising eventually to the larger picture of the unity of mankind. In October 1869 in a speech at Leeds, Gladstone proclaimed: There was a danger to the Suez Canal, the lifeline to India, as well as to British holders of Egyptian bonds. On 10 July 1882 Gladstone instructed that an ultimatum be given to Urabi to halt military fortifications of Alexandria within twelve hours. Urabi did not answer and so on 11 July the Royal Navy bombarded the city. On hearing news of the British victory Gladstone was ecstatic and ordered salutes of the guns in Hyde Park in their honour. When Gordon arrived in the Sudan he wanted to hold the capital, Khartoum. At first Gladstone refused to send a relief expedition but a few months later he consented and in October 1884 General Wolseley embarked from Cairo to Khartoum but arrived there too late to save Gordon, who had died when Khartoum fell to the Mahdi. Religious issues [edit] Enormous publicity was accorded the case of Charles Bradlaugh, who was elected as a Liberal to Parliament again and again but could not be seated because he was an atheist. Bradlaugh was a conventional Liberal on most issues, but he was also a highly controversial proponent of birth control. The technical issue was whether an atheist could "affirm" his loyalty rather than "swear to God. The Liberals were split and their cause suffered. Bradlaugh was finally seated in 1886 and in Parliament passed a law that allowed affirmations instead of oaths. The Queen, encouraged by Disraeli, favoured moderates who would restrain the High Church party which tended to support the Liberals. Historians point to his age as an explanation for his inflexibility. He minimized the Radical role in his cabinet, with only Joseph Chamberlain representing that faction. The result was internal feuding that so weakened the cabinet that solid achievements were lacking. Historian Donald Southgate argues: Gladstone, age and ailing, had lost his effectiveness. The party was suffering because the desire to preserve it took precedence, even with the leading Radicals, over the desire to employ it for any particular purpose, such as the grant of local representative institutions to Ireland. Never in the modern era has a triumphant House of Commons majority achieved so little. The reason was not merely the continuing economic unrest outside, nor the new phenomena of two oppositions – an Irish as well as a conservative. His own method of adjustment, which was to be radical in the open and whiggish behind the scenes, allowed neither side to feel secure. Now, too, that he was past 70, mere egotism grew on him; and within a habit of playing this mystery – man and puzzling his followers by unexpected moves. Joseph Chamberlain and George Otto Trevelyan resigned from the Cabinet when Gladstone told them that he intended to introduce the bills. Irish nationalist reaction was mixed, Unionist opinion was hostile, and the election addresses during the election revealed English radicals to be against the bill also. Among the Liberal rank and file, several Gladstonian candidates disowned the bill, reflecting fears at the constituency level that the interests of the working people were being sacrificed to finance a rescue operation for the landed elite. The Land Purchase Bill was criticised from all sides and was dropped. The Home Rule Bill was defeated by votes to 193 against, with 93 Liberals voting against. Gladstone dissolved Parliament and called a general election which resulted in a Unionist Conservative and Liberal Unionist landslide victory under Salisbury. Liberal government 1895 The general election of 1895 returned more Liberals than Unionists but without an overall majority. The Unionists stayed in office until they lost a motion of no confidence moved by H. Asquith on 11 August. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the last time at the age of 82, and was both the oldest ever person to be appointed to the office and when he resigned in aged 84 he was the oldest person ever to occupy the Premiership. This was abandoned by Salisbury in 1895 and Arthur Balfour after him but was restored by Liberal Henry Campbell-Bannerman in 1905 and was observed ever since. However the House of Lords killed the Bill by voting against by votes to 41 on 8 September. Gladstone wanted to call a general election to campaign against the Lords but his colleagues dissuaded him from doing so. Gladstone opposed increasing public expenditure on the naval estimates, in the tradition of free trade liberalism of his earlier political career

as Chancellor. Almost all his colleagues, however, believed in some expansion of the Royal Navy. Clarendon Press, , p. John Murray, , p. Liberty Fund, , pp. Ensor, England, " Oxford: The Chancellorship of Robert Lowe, " Hirst, Gladstone as Financier and Economist London: Ernest Benn, , pp. Tucker, "Army and Society in England "